Scoping Study on Modern Slavery Nepal

Final Report

AUGUST 2019

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METHODOLOGY

The aim of this scoping study is to improve understanding of the forms and the potential prevalence of modern slavery in Nepal. Further, to understand how it can be effectively tackled. Given the diversity of modern slavery in Nepal, the study was expected to focus on specific "focal forms" of modern slavery when assessing prevalence patterns, drivers/vulnerabilities and perpetrator types.

The research adhered to a comprehensive and clearly defined methodology, including a rigorous literature review, field research for primary data collection and data analysis to draw out key themes and summarise findings from the literature review and primary research data collection. These findings were used to test the relevance of DFID's Modern Slavery Conceptual Framework to Nepal and adapt, design, and produce a framework that is contextually relevant to Nepal.

Definitions

As per DFID's Conceptual Framework, the research uses "modern slavery" as an umbrella term for various situations where a person is exploited by others for various forms of gain. The broad definition of modern slavery as per the conceptual framework is:

- Exploitative gain – the intent to exploit victims for personal gain by compelling them to provide some form or work or service;
- Involuntariness – the victim has not offered himself or herself voluntarily or has removed their consent;
- (Threat of) Penalty – the victim is unable to leave due to force or physical threats, psychological coercion, abuse of the legal process, lack of finances, deception or other coercive means;
- In certain cases, modern slavery may also apply where the victim is deprived of choice of alternatives compelling him/her to adopt one particular course of action;
- A person does not need to be aware that they are in a state of modern slavery to be considered a victim.

Generally, in Nepal, it was found that the term modern slavery was sufficiently understood by relevant stakeholders. However, to remain relevant to regional actors and sensitive to the context, subtypes (i.e. trafficking, bonded labour, etc.) were used where appropriate.

Literature review

A rigorous literature review was conducted, engaging with existing research and analysis on modern slavery in Nepal. This included academic literature, government policy documents, NGO reports and prevalence data (e.g. by the Global Slavery Index, IOM and Polaris). A search strategy was followed, comprising electronic searches across a number of databases and websites as well as manual search and retrieval for known resources relevant to the study. To take into account potential differences in definitions and terminology, the search strategy was expanded well beyond the term "modern slavery" to include various subtypes but also specific terms for particular forms of exploitation (e.g. kamaiya or haruwa-charuwa when referring to bonded labour in Nepal).

Alongside the literature review, a detailed political economy analysis was conducted to map the institutional and governance processes, as well as power and resource distributions and key structural issues that contribute to creating or reinforcing permissive environments for modern slavery industries. Using the literature review and political economy analysis, the research team developed a preliminary typology of the forms of slavery present in Nepal. This disaggregated between the forms of control and exploitation, whether movement takes place, the victims targeted, and the perpetrators involved. The review was also used to consider the breadth and strength of available evidence, to identify gaps and opportunities for further field research and data collection.

On this basis, the review was used to establish the parameters of the field research and data collection, including selection of the focal forms of modern slavery to focus on, the research methodology, potential locations for field research and potential respondents. In consultation with DFID, the selected focal forms of modern slavery were: bonded labour in agriculture and brick kilns; domestic servitude; commercial sexual exploitation within the entertainment sector; human trafficking; labour exploitation overseas.

Field research and data collection

The research methodology developed in response to the review sought to capture evidence via qualitative, key informant interviews. Key informants include people who have experience working with people who: a) have experienced key forms of modern slavery, b) are members of communities and individuals that are more vulnerable to modern slavery or c) are living in areas where modern slavery maybe more common. The field research engaged with national and international stakeholders who could provide a broader perspective on modern slavery as well as those who could provide a detailed understanding of the selected focal forms of modern slavery.

Field research and data collection was conducted by two research teams in Nepal. Each team comprised of a local and an international researcher, was gender-balanced and had English and Nepali language capabilities. Both teams conducted key informant interviews in Kathmandu, before each team travelled to locations where focal forms of modern slavery were taking place (Siraha, Saptari, Dhanusa, Morang, Sunsari, Sindhupalchok, Dhading and Kaski) to build a more detailed understanding of the selected focal forms of modern slavery. Using the preliminary typology of the forms of slavery present in Nepal to test and refine findings, field research focused on the following research questions:

- What are the patterns of prevalence of focal forms of slavery in Nepal, and how do these vary across the country?
- What are the common vulnerabilities that leave communities and individuals exposed to different forms of slavery in Nepal?
- What are the groups, organisations, and available resources working to address the problem of modern slavery in Nepal?
- Why are certain programming efforts successful or not in their particular locations?
- Who are the different perpetrators of modern slavery and what are the drivers that motivate them?
- What methods do perpetrators employ to control and coerce victims of modern slavery in Nepal?
- How do state policies and societal, political, and/or economic structures prevent or perpetuate industries of modern slavery?

Data analysis

Key informant interviews were transcribed and anonymised, translating where necessary, from audio recording files ahead of data analysis. Across modern slavery more broadly and within each selected focal form, each interview was then analysed and coded to assess and draw out findings on patterns and forms of modern slavery, the high-risk groups and factors of vulnerability, actors, current responses and the permissive environment for modern slavery in Nepal. When analysing the data, the research team paid close attention to demographic factors, such as gender, age, disability, poverty and socio-cultural factors to understand how and why individuals become involved in slavery, either as victims or perpetrators. A key focus was on the causal pathways to preventing modern slavery, adopting an inductive approach to highlight observed trends to be conceptualised in terms of the factors that make modern slavery more or less likely to thrive.

Findings and key themes from the field research and the literature review were assessed against the research questions, the preliminary typology identified in the literature review stage and the conceptual framework to identify key lessons and recommendations on entry points for programming. Conducting a thorough review and analysis of the focal forms of modern slavery in Nepal also provided an opportunity to test the applicability of the DFID Modern Slavery Conceptual Framework in this context. While this formed an integral part of the analysis and the team used the conceptual framework for guidance during analysis, the characterisations and definitions laid out in the framework have been constantly scrutinised to assess their relevance to Nepal.

Specifically, the risk factors that make certain groups more vulnerable to modern slavery, the methods used by perpetrators, as well as the environmental factors that allow modern slavery to persist are likely to be highly context-dependent and the generalised conceptual framework may not capture these variations. In response to this, the research team developed an adapted conceptual framework to capture the reality of modern slavery in Nepal. The findings from the literature review and field research, and the adapted conceptual framework is presented below.

TYPOLOGIES OF MODERN SLAVERY

Focal Forms of modern slavery in Nepal						
Type	**Forms of control**	**Movement**	**Exploitation**	**Victims**	**Perpetrators**	**Location/s**
Human trafficking.	Deception, lure of opportunities, fake marriage, confiscation of documentation, psychological coercion.	Source, transit, and destination country, internal trafficking.	Labour exploitation, organ trafficking, forced marriage and sex trafficking.	Primarily women and girls but also young men for labour exploitation.	False recruitment agencies, brokers, marriage bureaus, education consultancies.	Vulnerability prevalent across Nepal but Nuwakot, Dhading and Sindhupalchowk are the primary points for trafficking women and children.[1]
Child trafficking and labour.	Cultural acceptance, inter-generational familial debt bondage, psychological coercion.	Rural-to-urban. For bonded labour movement is often restricted to the family's locale.	Labour and sexual exploitation in the entertainment sector, embroidery, mining, workshops and garages, transport, construction, small eateries, brick kilns, domestic work, circus and street festivals.	Both boys and girls, primarily from poor or rural households.	Brokers, employers, family and relatives.[2]	Nepal-wide.
Commercial sexual exploitation.	Manipulation and deception, lack of opportunities in rural and urban areas, unattainable targets in the workplace.	Economic migrants make the rural-to-urban move, Lalitpur, Dhading, Nuwakot, Sindupalchowk, Kavre, Rolpa, Kaski, Lamjung and Dolakha to Kathmandu, Pokhara, Butawal,	Commercial sexual exploitation, human trafficking, child labour.	Women and girls from poor and rural households but also educated women in urban areas.	Brokers, employers.	Destinations: Kathmandu, Dharan, Ithari. Source: Kavre, Nuwakot, Sindupalchowk, Kaski, Dolkaha, Lamjung, Dhading.

[1] CWIN and ECPAT (2015). Preparatory Study for Situational Analysis of Commercial Sexual Exploitation of Children in Nepal. Available from: http://www.ecpat.lu/sites/default/files/resources/Nepal_Preparatory_Study_CSEC.pdf

[2] Family members may assist in or facilitate child trafficking and labour however it might not always be appropriate to consider them perpetrators of trafficking. Family members and relatives might also be lured and deceived by traffickers. Please refer to page 6 for further detail.

		Dharan, Itahari, Chitawan.				
Traditional bonded labour (agriculture).	Debt bondage, land tenancy, caste-based control.	Rural area- South East Terai, Western Hill.	Bonded labour in agricultural sector, forced labour, labour exploitation.	Dalit and Tharu community, landless populations.	Landlords.	Predominantly Terai region.
Exploitative labour.[3]	Debt bondage and prepayment, no employment contract, lack of alternative opportunities.	Rural to urban but may be flows from Nepal to India and Nepal to other countries.	Poor working conditions, low wage, late/withheld wages, In agriculture, brick kilns, entertainment sector, domestic work.	Rural populations (Janajati and Madhesi), ex-bonded labourers, children and women.	Naike - Agent for Workers, Brick Industry Owners, landlords, employers, upper middle-class communities (domestic work).	Nepal-wide, for brick kilns Province 2, 3, 5,7.
Forced marriage[4]	Cultural acceptance of early marriage.	Rural/rural, rural/urban, Nepal to other countries (Korea, China, India).	Forced marriage.	Women and girls, but some men and boys.	Predominantly focused in rural communities.	Nepal-wide, most prevalent in Eastern Terai (Provinces 1, 2 and 5).

[3] Exploitative labour is not necessarily a form of modern slavery, however the research found that exploitative labour practices in the Nepal context can mirror modern slavery practices, and that victims are caught in a space between exploitative labour practices and bonded labour.
[4] Following consultation with DFID to decide the focal forms to be explored further through primary research, forced marriage was not explored included in primary research. Findings presented in this typology table are from secondary data gathered through the literature review.

HUMAN TRAFFICKING

Internal and external trafficking,[5] and other associated exploitation of people in Nepal is a primary challenge when looking at the forms of modern slavery in Nepal. This research found that these issues occur as a product of overlapping vulnerabilities and drivers that create a high risk of exploitation.

Patterns and forms

Structural and economic weakness coupled with proximity to the Indian and Chinese border means human trafficking in Nepal is not a new phenomenon. Nepal has a long and well-recognised history of sex trafficking, with primary victims being young women and girls from rural and remote areas sent to brothels in India. Historically, trafficking has involved male traffickers identifying and targeting vulnerable families and individuals in villages, convincing families to allow their daughters to marry them, with promises of financial security and better quality of life, only to traffic and sell them to brothel owners.

While this form of trafficking still takes place, post-conflict labour migration patterns have created the space for more diverse forms of trafficking, motivated by growing aspiration for upwards economic and social mobility and defined by more complex gender dynamics. This has blurred the line between human trafficking and migration/people smuggling, with people moving between the categories. However, there is limited understanding of human trafficking beyond sex trafficking. While cultural and social norms and gender-based discrimination means human trafficking continues to disproportionately affect women and girls, greater connectivity and blurred lines between migration and trafficking has created a conducive environment for different forms of trafficking as discussed in more detail below.

No longer just a source: Nepal is traditionally a source country. However, there were some reports of women and children being trafficked from India to Nepal for forced and bonded labour. Nepal is now also a transit point for other South Asian countries such as Bangladesh. This would need to be explored further.

The National Human Rights Commission of Nepal estimates that during 2015/16, 6,100 persons were trafficked, 13,600 were attempted to be trafficked, and 3,500 were missing.[6] This is a marked increase from 5,500 in 2010 (of trafficked and attempted trafficking victims), and 11,500 in 2011 and indicates a dramatic increase year on year.[7] Both internal and external trafficking is occurring in Nepal, but internal trafficking is far less visible and harder to monitor and respond to. Beyond sex trafficking, trafficking for forced or bonded labour, forced domestic servitude, organ trafficking and trafficking for child sexual exploitation are increasingly frequent. Destinations outside of Nepal have expanded beyond neighbouring countries to Afghanistan, Iraq, Lebanon, Jordan, North Korea, South Korea, Australia and other countries. Traffickers are increasingly using visa on arrival countries such as Kenya and Tanzania. Journeys tend to have multiple legs, with India and Sri Lanka becoming well established transit points. This suggests a shift from opportunistic exploitation to more sophisticated activity.

Accordingly, patterns and forms are also changing as traffickers employ more mature and adaptive strategies. Traffickers are demonstrating the ability to alter routes, methods and strategies for trafficking in very short spaces of time to respond to new domestic and international legislation and responses. This includes: forging documents to change the age of individuals in response to age limit restrictions imposed on migration; flying into smaller airports or transferring victims from a bus to taxi near the end of the journey to avoid increased interception efforts at airports and bus stations; and, strategically switching between different migration status, e.g. using a tourist visa to reach the first transit point and then shifting to irregular migration to complete the second leg of the journey.

Three patterns of trafficking can be seen:

- **Individuals who are trafficked from rural or remote areas.** These individuals are often young adults, both men and women, who have been lured with promises of a well-paid job or a better life and trafficked to urban centres for commercial sexual exploitation or exploitative labour in domestic work and construction, or places of bonded labour such as brick kilns. They may also be trafficked to another country to work in exploitative conditions. Individuals in this case are often most unaware of the associated risks and vulnerable to

[5] Human trafficking constitutes recruitment, transportation, transfer, harbouring or receipt of persons, by means of the threat or use of force or other forms of coercion, of abduction, of fraud, of deception, of the abuse of power or of a position of vulnerability or of the giving or receiving of payments or benefits to achieve the consent of a person having control over another person, for the purpose of exploitation. It is separate from the different forms of exploitation that they are trafficked into.
[6] National Human Rights Commission (NHRC), 2017. Trafficking in Persons Especially Women and Children in Nepal 2015/2016. National Report. NHRC: Kathmandu: Nepal. Available from : http://www.nhrcnepal.org/nhrc_new/doc/newsletter/TIP_National_Report_2015_2016.pdf
[7] National Human Rights Commission (NHRC), 2011. Trafficking in Persons Especially Women and Children in Nepal National Report. NHRC: Kathmandu: Nepal. Available from : http://www.nhrcnepal.org/nhrc_new/doc/newsletter/NHRC%20Final%20Format%20nov%205.2011.pdf

exploitation. If they are aware of associated risks, they may have incomplete information or be unable to pre-assess the impact of these risks, or feel they have no other option but to accept the potential risk.

- **Individuals who are trafficked from urban areas.** These individuals tend to have willingly migrated from rural or remote areas or are vulnerable individuals from urban areas, in search of better opportunities. However, they find themselves without financial/social stability or security, making them vulnerable to forms of modern slavery. These individuals may become entrapped in exploitative industries such as domestic servitude or the entertainment sector but may also be more vulnerable to external trafficking.
- **Individuals who are trafficked while already being in some form of modern slavery.** Taking advantage of their already undesirable situation, victims might be lured by promises of a better situation. In some cases, victims are trafficked at the whim of their current employer or owner. It is easier to exploit individuals who have already been exploited, so this often entails being trafficked into a more exploitative form of modern slavery, and often shifts towards external trafficking.

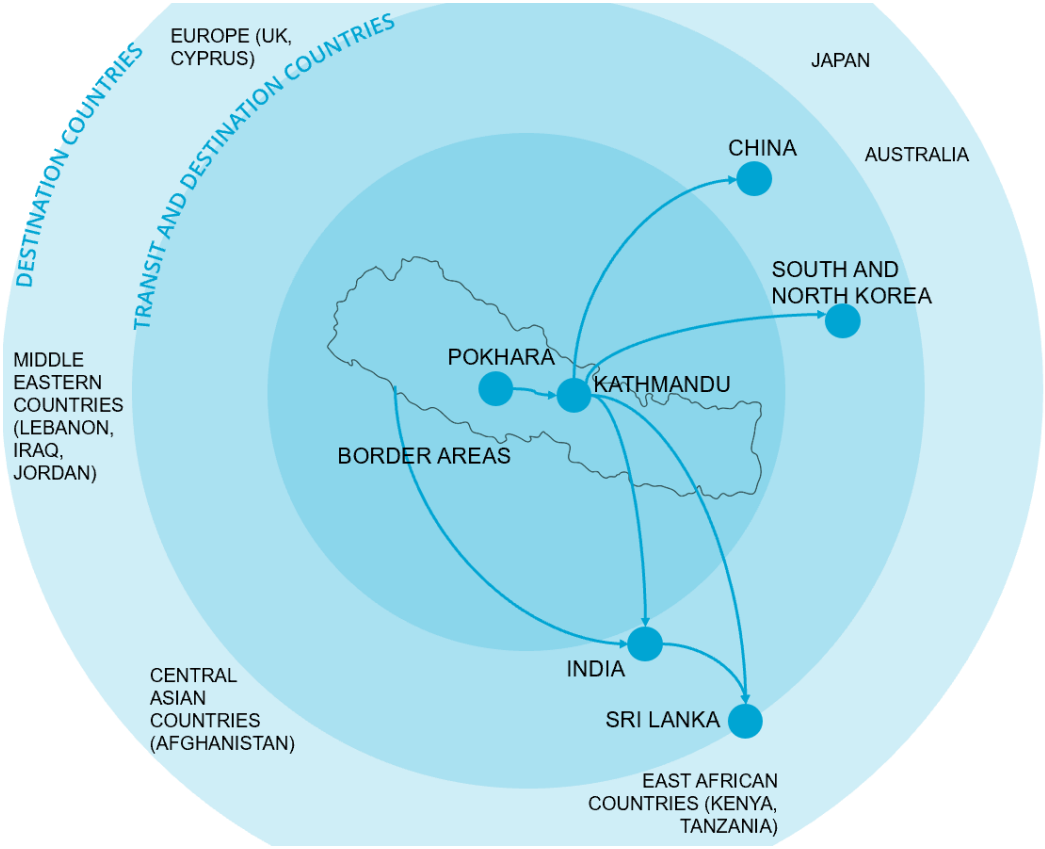

Figure 1: Major trafficking routes from Nepal. Individuals are trafficked from rural and remote areas into urban centres including Kathmandu and Pokhara.

The forms of exploitation experienced in each case are similar. Individuals are lured with false promises by brokers or middlemen, who take advantage of an individual's lack of knowledge and desperation/ambition for a better job, more money or a better life. Individuals and their families who remain behind might be trapped in debt bondage, forced to work for low or no wages to repay loans or pre-payment received from the employer or the broker. Psychological and physical abuse are used to prevent individuals from leaving an employer, as well as other methods of control such as document confiscation and physical confinement.

Women and girls fall into additional, specific patterns of trafficking and exploitation. Young girls may be unknowingly married to brokers or perpetrators who then traffic and force them into different forms of modern slavery. Young girls may also be tricked into fake marriages, which are painted as a pathway to a better, more adventurous life with a new husband. They may travel willingly to countries such as China and Korea but are then forced into labour or prostitution when they arrive in the new country. In urban areas, women and girls may be in what they believe to be romantic relationships with perpetrators who manipulate or force them into forms of modern slavery, in particular sexual exploitation.

With increased diversity of forms of trafficking has come an increasingly blurred line between human trafficking and people smuggling. In the context of post-conflict labour migration patterns and changing lifestyles, people are more interested in accessing labour opportunities elsewhere to attain higher economic standing. Individuals may believe that by choosing to migrate they are taking control of an undesirable situation. The decision to migrate is

sometimes kept discreet for various reasons (e.g. fear of losing an opportunity, trust in the trafficker/smuggler, being convinced to hide decision by trafficker/smuggler), but this will depend on the circumstances under which people leave and the facilitator/actors involved. Regardless, this has changed the dynamic between individuals and traffickers/smuggler – they continue to deceive and take advantage of people's lack of awareness, but force and physical violence may play a lesser role as victims are willing to move. Regardless, the potential for exploitation during their journey and when they reach their destination remains high.

In some cases, individuals may approach traffickers/smugglers themselves to use their services. As people become more aware (for example of the need to be skilled workers or of their rights), there have been reports of individuals negotiating with brokers for better terms, even if they are still exploitative. Nonetheless, even when individuals internally or externally migrate willingly and with consent, the aforementioned methods of deception and exploitation means individuals fluidly and often unknowingly move between being smuggled and being trafficked. It is important to recognise that not all victims will identify or understand that they are victims and may use agency and aspiration for a better life to process their decisions and actions. For traffickers, this provides an additional opportunity to recruit and exploit victims, convincing them that they have a stake in their own exploitation.

Kidney trafficking on the rise: Organ trafficking and particularly kidney trafficking is reportedly increasing, particularly amongst males. Victims are promised large amounts of money, but in reality, receive a fraction of that money, and told their kidneys will grow back. This is causing significant health complications in victims.

High-risk groups and vulnerabilities

Across all three types of trafficking, different degrees of vulnerability, motivation/aspiration and consent come into play simultaneously, placing individuals at risk of some form of exploitation. Although poverty and lack of education are frequently cited as primary factors, an individual's vulnerability is in fact a layered, complex and non-linear interaction of a series of factors. These factors must also then be considered in the context of the individual's real or perceived agency and (lack of) awareness and alternatives.

Financial poverty and lack of opportunities in the local job market that place individuals under significant financial strain remains one of the primary factors of vulnerability. Given caste-based discrimination this is even more true for Dalit and lower-caste communities. Very poor families struggle to pay for basic subsistence or save money to see them through financial shocks. However, poverty and economic capital also intersect with modernisation and changing, higher-cost lifestyles which can increase a family or individual's desired income. Changing family life and dynamics, including from failed arranged marriages, family separation, remarriage and absent parents due to foreign employment can also cause financial instability as well as child neglect that increases vulnerability to trafficking.

Lack of education is also considered a primary factor of vulnerability, particularly affecting girls who have lower levels of literacy and higher drop-out rates.[8] Compulsory schooling is free, but the cost of further education and associated costs reduce access to education. Additionally, when schools are physically inaccessible due to poor road infrastructure and lack of public transport means, children are less likely to attend school. Lack of education combined with lack of technical and vocational training available at the local level means individuals are less skilled and enter the workforce with less bargaining power. On the other hand, increased levels of education that are not accommodated by the local economy – due to lack of opportunities, poor skills matching or insufficient wages for the level of skill – may encourage people to migrate, which when intersecting with other vulnerability factors can make them vulnerable to trafficking.

Remoteness and poor physical infrastructure can also increase vulnerability to trafficking. Limited access to cities due to poor road infrastructure and lack of public transport makes smaller towns and rural areas more disconnected to urban areas that present a larger and more diverse job market. As regular travel between urban and rural areas is difficult, individuals consider it necessary to reside in urban areas, where they may have less financial and social stability. Migrants from rural areas are pushed to be reliant on unregistered local brokers who enable individuals to travel through informal channels thereby increasing vulnerability to trafficking. On the other hand, improved roads and public transport can make it easier to transport victims of trafficking, as has been reported on the new Pokhara-Delhi bus line.

Environmental degradation and shocks, climate change and natural disasters are factors of vulnerability that may come into play less frequently, but with high impact. Intersecting with financial poverty and lack of alternative job

[8] Women and girls face a number of gender-specific barriers to accessing and completing education. This includes factors such as entrenched discriminatory gender norms, harmful cultural and social norms, lack of funds for school, arranged marriages, lack of support for menstrual hygiene management and proper latrine facilities at school and unsafe school environments including means of transport to and from school. Various reports detailing this can be accessed online.

opportunities, shocks such as floods or droughts that affect agricultural production increases financial instability and can cause displacement of communities. The period following the 2015 earthquake caused a sharp increase in trafficking, with victims of trafficking most commonly originating from earthquake-affected areas or remote areas bordering with India.

Across all factors of vulnerability, lack of awareness comes into play. Lack of awareness in this instance refers to incorrect or incomplete information about opportunities and risks. This also applies over an extended timescale, where individuals might understand to an extent the short and medium-term risks, they might struggle to understand longer-term risks to their physical and psychological wellbeing and continued vulnerability to exploitation, as well as their families and communities.

Prepared to take the risk: In the case of foreign employment and undocumented migration, it was reported that increasingly individuals are aware of the risks but nonetheless choose to proceed, justifying their decision with the mindset that the payoffs would be great enough to offset the exploitation they experience.

Sex trafficking across the Indian border is reasonably well understood at the local level, however understanding of human trafficking beyond that is limited. Additionally, it is thought that only women and children can be trafficked, and that all traffickers are men. Individuals and their families may have a skewed or inaccurate perception of the risks and benefits of being trafficked, particularly when weighing up the chance to escape financial poverty or a marginalised existence and the subsequent improvement in living standards/benefits to the wider family with the risks associated with being trafficked. Brokers seek to influence this further, and the lack of willingness by returnees to openly share bad experiences of migration and trafficking limits people's awareness of the exploitation they are likely to experience.

Often individuals may not consider themselves to be victims of trafficking – rather, just people going for work to support their family. As trafficking in Nepal moves beyond coercion to movement negotiated between individuals and traffickers, lack of awareness becomes a stronger determinant of exploitation as it weakens the negotiating stance of individuals seeking opportunities. However, individual state of mind should be considered, and when individuals are aware of the risks and uncertainties, the willingness or desperation to increase their income in the short-term can alter how calculated decisions are made in terms of risk versus payoff.

Gender norms and gender-based discrimination amplify factors of vulnerability to trafficking. Nepal is a patriarchal society that defines relationships between men and women and imposes expectations and roles on women that put them at a disadvantage. Women have less access to education, health services, land and property, social security and freedom as well as decision-making processes.[9] There is pressure to conform to heteronormative social conventions, and continued discrimination towards those who do not conform.[10]

Gender norms affecting men: The emerging trend of foreign employment and organ trafficking has made men more vulnerable to trafficking. However, male trafficking goes unreported due to perceptions of masculinity and failure and social stigma. Unwillingness to share and report trafficking may affect awareness by presenting an unrealistic picture of foreign employment, that fails to highlight risks to trafficking or negative aspects of foreign employment. It also restricts access to justice for men.

It is well recognised that trafficking affects women and girls disproportionately – UNODC's Global Report on trafficking notes that female victims make up 86% of the total number of trafficking victims from Nepal between 2007 and 2009, and this is unlikely to have declined substantially.[11] Nepal's entrenched and structural gender-based discrimination places women and girls at higher risk of trafficking, particularly when a woman or girl is faced with violence, social stigma or is wanting to escape strict cultural and societal restrictions.

Women are also vulnerable to violence and 25% of women in Nepal experience some form of physical and/or sexual intimate partner violence in their lifetime.[12] While systems and processes to access to justice are in place, women face several gender specific-restrictions that affect their access to justice in practice.[13] This includes the stigma associated with identifying as a victim of trafficking and exploitation (especially due to poor understanding of trafficking beyond sex trafficking), discouragement of reporting due to societal and familial pressures and lack

[9] UN Women, 2014. Socioeconomic status of women in Nepal. http://www2.unwomen.org/-/media/field%20office%20eseasia/docs/publications/2014/7/socio%20economic%20status%20of%20women%20in%20nepal%20nepali.ashx
[10] Richardson, D., Laurie, N., Poudel, M., and Townsend, J. (2016). Women and citizenship post-trafficking: the case of Nepal, The Sociology Review. 65(2), pp. 329-348. Available from: https://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pmc/articles/PMC5006859/
[11] UNODC (2012). *Global Report on Trafficking in* Persons. Available from: https://www.unodc.org/documents/data-and-analysis/glotip/Trafficking_in_Persons_2012_web.pdf
[12] UN Women, 2017, http://evaw-global-database.unwomen.org/en/countries/asia/nepal#3
[13] UN Women, 2016. http://www2.unwomen.org/-/media/field%20office%20eseasia/docs/publications/2016/09/research-report-on-womens-access-to-justice.pdf?la=en&vs=4041

of access to justice when decision-making is controlled by the male head of household. Additionally, access to justice may be prevented when family members and relatives have facilitated trafficking.

Social interactions and behaviour of women and girls are more closely monitored and pressure to remain within the boundaries of gendered roles and norms may make women more vulnerable to coercion and deception by traffickers. Additionally, when women find themselves in certain socially unacceptable positions – for example as returnee women or survivors of trafficking, widowed women and single mothers – there is an increased need to become financially independent despite their relative lack of education and access to opportunities in the male-dominated economy. This may make them more vulnerable to traffickers or tolerant of exploitation in exchange for relative financial and social freedom.

Actors and facilitators

Whereas in the past, the number of actors involved in trafficking a victim was minimal and concentrated, Nepal is now experiencing a more diverse and scattered network or chain of actors. Brokers (often referred to by stakeholders as "middlemen") play pivotal roles in the trafficking chain, acting as the node between the individual and the employer/owner. They also play multiple roles, from recruiter to transporter to negotiating terms with employers. While the significance of their role is well recognised, few refer to these brokers as traffickers.

The broker does not have a single profile and can be multiple types of people. Although there are both men and women brokers, there are fewer women brokers and they tend to hold roles at the community and household level as recruiters. For example, foreign employment agencies and entertainment sector establishments are more likely to be male-run, while in brick kilns there are no women *Naike* (agent/broker for brick kilns). In the case of structured or hierarchal trafficking operations, further up the chain, women become less present.

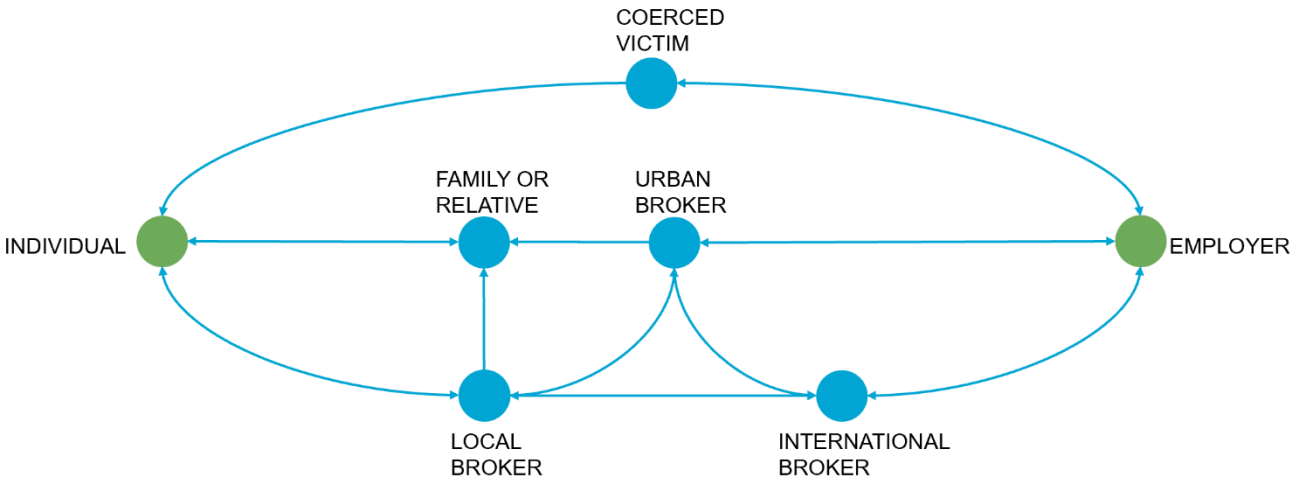

Figure 2: The potential actors involved in the network or chain of trafficking in Nepal. Actors in blue can be considered 'middle-men' or 'brokers'.

While many refer to family, relatives or trusted connections as brokers it is not straightforward to classify them as brokers, especially when their motivations and (lack of) awareness is considered. They may sell an individual to traffickers or employers for an up-front payment or take a loan or pre-payment in exchange for the individual. They may be motivated by fast or easy money but may also be tricked by the trafficker into believing that they are helping the individual to have a better life – blurring the line between explicit intention to exploit and unknowingly facilitating trafficking.

Equally, if a family member or relative is well connected or living in an urban area, they may be approached by an individual who is actively seeking assistance to migrate. The family member may be completely aware of what happens, particularly if they have gone through the process themselves. They may be aware of what they are doing, but do not understand the consequences of their actions or how they fit into the larger trafficking network or chain. Some consider themselves to be providing a service for the individual. Equally, they may have no awareness of what they are doing, falling prey to deception and lies themselves.

Brokers profit in multiple ways: receiving large sums of money from employers and owners; receiving money from other brokers if they pass on their recruits in a network or chain; by providing high-interest loans to the individual and their family; or, by charging commission for their services. The latter examples can push victims and families

into debt bondage to the broker. The term 'local broker' refers to brokers in or known to the community. Local brokers may overlap with family, relatives and trusted connections. Generally, they are motivated by quick access to money, but some may see themselves as providing help or a positive service for the individual. Local brokers may approach individuals, selling them a dream of a new job or a new life. Alternatively, local brokers might also be approached by individuals who have heard about their services.

The broker will leverage trust and familiarity with the community and use deception to lure victims of trafficking. For the broker, this could be a casual activity to boost their income or it can be a profession. Again, the broker will have varying levels of awareness and may or may not understand how they themselves fit into the wider trafficking network or chain. Brokers in urban areas such as Pokhara and Kathmandu have connections with local brokers or may have specific local operating area. They work in a similar fashion, tend to be more aware of what they are doing and are more likely to do it professionally. In the case of external trafficking, it is evident that both local brokers and urban brokers have networks to international brokers but how these networks are formed or interact is not clear and would require further research.

Local and urban brokers can be further disaggregated into different types of actors, employing different methods to facilitate movement, but similar methods to coerce or exert control. Local brokers may be enterprising individuals who are well-known to the community. They will have strong networks and connections to facilitate onward movement. Local brokers may also be influential and high-ranking individuals within a community, including social and religious leaders. Student visa agencies and marriage bureaus are also increasingly used as ways to move people out of the country. There have also been reports of employers selling on victims currently under their control, particularly women who started in domestic servitude as children.

The role of social media: Internet connectivity is rapidly expanding in Nepal. Social media is reducing the distance between individuals and brokers, making more people vulnerable to trafficking. Previously, brokers would have to travel to villages to identify vulnerable individuals who could be lured into trafficking. However, brokers are now using social media platforms like Facebook to target and contact people in rural and remote areas. Social media is a particularly effective tool for brokers when individuals are actively looking to migrate but are not aware of the risks and realities.

Unregistered foreign employment agencies and registered foreign employment bureaus which may also be involved in illegal or fraudulent activity are well known agents of trafficking. People of Nepal intending to work abroad must register through the Department of Foreign Employment (DoFE). However, lack of access to the Kathmandu-registered agencies, poor access to information on the administrative process, and limited access to the Kathmandu-based DoFE for rural and often more vulnerable communities pushes those looking to migrate towards brokers who provide false employment contracts and travel documents, or 'fast-track' services.

Victims of trafficking or other forms of modern slavery might also act as brokers or traffickers themselves, for a number of reasons. Victims may be forced by employers or owners to recruit additional individuals. Victims may also do it to replace themselves, either to escape from exploitation or to be promoted into a different or higher role. This is common in the entertainment sector, where women have to recruit their replacement in exchange for them leaving or older women who are less desired by clients are pressured to recruit younger girls when they can no longer maintain the same level of business. In the cases of foreign employment, individuals may be offered a cost-free journey or more desirable terms if they can recruit a number of girls to do the journey with them.

CHILD TRAFFICKING AND LABOUR

Child trafficking and labour cuts across all of the forms of modern slavery and exploitation present in Nepal. The Nepal Child Labour Report 2011 estimated that 1.6 million children aged five to 17 years are in child labour,[14] with most child labourers working for between six and ten hours a day.[15] It is estimated that of the 1.6m children in labour, 621,000 (8% of all children in Nepal) are engaged in hazardous work, or work that is likely to interfere with their health, physical, mental, moral or social development.[16] While it is well recognised that the conflict and the

[14] National Human Rights Commission (2011). Trafficking in Persons especially Women and Children in Nepal National Report. Available at: http://www.nhrcnepal.org/nhrc_new/doc/newsletter/1592866493Report%20of%20Trafficking%20in%20Persons%20(Especially%20on%20Women%20and%20Children)%20National%20Report%202012Y2013.pdf.

[15] Dharel M. (2011). Child Labour in Ghorahi and Tulasipur Municipalities of Dang District, Nepal. CWISH Nepal and NEWCPC DANG. Available at: http://www.cwish.org.np/public/uploads/files/Chield%20Labour%20in%20Ghorahi%20&%20Dang%20English%20Cwish%20min%202017-08-13%2020-26-30.pdf

[16] National Human Rights Commission (2011). Trafficking in Persons especially Women and Children in Nepal National Report. Available at: http://www.nhrcnepal.org/nhrc_new/doc/newsletter/1592866493Report%20of%20Trafficking%20in%20Persons%20(Especially%20on%20Women%20and%20Children)%20National%20Report%202012Y2013.pdf

2015 earthquake left many children orphaned or vulnerable, foreign employment and the case of absent parents are also affecting patterns of child trafficking and bondage. However, the 2018 Nepal Labour Force Survey has observed that child labour has reduced by almost half.

Children are more vulnerable to bonded, forced or exploitative labour due to age dynamics, isolation, migrant status and restricted contact with their family. Child labourers can be found in many industries including the entertainment sector, embroidery, mining, workshops and garages, the transport sector, construction, small eateries, brick kilns, domestic work and working in circuses in India or street festivals. Children are also more likely to work in home-based workplaces, making illegal child labour harder to monitor. Employers prefer to use children as they are seen as better value for money – owners provide less food as they consume less, take up less space than a working adult, and enables them to employ more people. Children are also unaware of their rights, as such are often paid a very low wage.

Indian child labourers: There have been reports of child labourers being brought across the India-Nepal border for work in urban areas of Nepal, mainly in brick kilns and construction. While Indian child labourers are likely controlled through debt bondage, they are thought to be less aware of their rights than child labourers in Nepal and more compliant because of their isolation and unfamiliarity with their surroundings, so are easier to control.

Brokers are increasingly involved, taking advantage of parents' lack of awareness of the risks associated with trafficking and child labour, or families that are so financially desperate that they consent to or are easily convinced to allow their child to be trafficked or engaged in child labour in exchange for high-interest cash loans. Brokers dealing with children are becoming more organised, collecting a group of children to present to potential owners or employers at a single time. Children may also become victims of child trafficking and labour in parentless families, if they run away from home or are influenced by their peers, especially because of changing spending patterns towards more expensive consumer goods and attraction to modern technology such as mobile phones.

If employers or brokers aren't exercising control through debt bondage or violence, children experience high levels of psychological abuse. When physically separated from their parents or guardians, unaware of their rights and in unfamiliar environments, employers or brokers exploit this to position themselves as guardians or protectors who the children must depend on. They do this by convincing children that the fact they have somewhere to stay, food to eat and that making money is better than any alternative they may have which includes life back home. Families might also be reluctant to accept rescued children if they remain in debt bondage and need the child to work to pay it off.

Children are particularly vulnerable in cases of parental negligence, absence or dysfunctional families. Large families or families with non-earning family members (e.g. disabled or elderly family members) make children more vulnerable as child labourers can reduce the economic burden on the family, especially when employers or owners provide food and accommodation. If one sibling in the family is already engaged in child labour, it is more likely for their siblings to also be engaged in child labour. Lack of education, limited access to education and dropping out of school is also a significant factor of vulnerability.

COMMERCIAL SEXUAL EXPLOITATION

In the context of Nepal, commercial sexual exploitation is associated with sex trafficking to Indian brothels and sexual exploitation in the 'entertainment sector'. The entertainment sector constitutes many things including the film and music industries, theatre arts, but also establishments such as dance bars, *dohoris*, *gajal, rodhi gar*, massage parlour, spas and *khaja ghar* (eateries). However, with diversifying forms of human trafficking new patterns of commercial sexual exploitation are emerging.

Patterns and forms

Gender-based discrimination and violence, lack of alternative opportunities and established human trafficking practices creates a conducive environment for commercial sexual exploitation. Nepal has a long-standing history of trafficking for sexual exploitation, with Indian brothels and the entertainment sector in Nepal becoming a refuge for families displaced post-conflict and post-earthquake. While it is thought that the number of girls being trafficked to brothels in India is at least the same – if not slightly less, although there is no concrete evidence to support this – in the past two decades, there has been a significant growth of the entertainment sector which includes Rodhi

Ghar, Dance Bars, Musical Restaurants and others with an estimated employment of more than 60,000 workers in over 1500 establishments.[17]

Traditionally, commercial sexual exploitation has had a strong intersection with trafficking, coercion and control. High numbers of women, girls and increasingly boys have been trafficked – the Nepal AIDS/STD Control Centre estimated that there are 26,574 girls and women in the commercial sex industry, and that over half of these are trafficked as minors.[18] This type of commercial sexual exploitation is still prevalent, although there is no official data to confirm how prevalent.

Sexual exploitation in orphanages: There have been reports of children being trafficked to orphanages where they may be sexually exploited by foreigners who are volunteers. More broadly, there are concerns of the number of children at risk of sexual exploitation in tourist hotspots. Once again, a lack of data makes it difficult to confirm its prevalence.

Unfair conflation of the entertainment sector and sex industry victimises women and adolescent girls already working in a difficult space with social stigma, poor working conditions and vulnerability.[19] Furthermore, an emerging trend is the perceived agency victims have when entering into it. In response to a lack of education and skills due to gender-based discrimination, women recognise and act on the low barriers to accessing the entertainment sector, processing the opportunity to work as a resilience or coping mechanism for restrictive rural life, gender-based violence and financial poverty. Introducing the idea of agency, increased awareness that affects employer-employee relationships, and introduction of more women into a male-dominated economy is changing how sexual exploitation in the entertainment sector occurs.

Increasingly, the entertainment sector is understood as having the potential to be a place of decent work *if* fair and safe labour conditions are put in place and closely monitored. This is not to undermine the fact that entertainment sector workers are still highly vulnerable to commercial sexual exploitation, but it is thought that the prevalence of sexual exploitation is becoming less rampant or is at least becoming more concentrated within the entertainment sector to affect a smaller proportion of workers as before. Many victims are thought to enter into the entertainment sector as adolescent girls, in which case commercial sexual exploitation is clear. That said, sexual harassment – both verbal and physical – is still highly likely, and many workers experience some form of unsolicited or unwanted sexual advances from the customers. This is especially true for those working in close proximity to customers, such as waiters and waitresses.

Day versus night-time working: While the night-time nature of commercial sex work makes for a more unsafe working environment, it accommodates women who must bring in income for the family but may have other daytime responsibilities such as childcare.

Individuals become victims of commercial sexual exploitation in a number of ways. The most well-known pathway is by means of trafficking, with agents travelling to rural and remote areas or reaching victims through extended networks, to lure them with the explicit intention to exploit by deceiving them or their families. This may be by 'selling a dream', promising them high-earning employment, a better platform to achieve fame as a dancer, singer or actress, or by deceiving them into romantic or marital relationships after which they force victims into sexual exploitation. Victims are trafficked to entertainment establishments in urban areas such as Kathmandu and Pokhara or overseas, typically to India, but recent trends include the Middle East, East Africa and other Asian countries. There have been increasing reports of external trafficking via fake marriage where victims are trapped in sexually exploitative situations once arriving in their destination country.

Victims might also be recruited when already in an urban area, in most cases having migrated to find employment but have been unsuccessful. Financially strained, unfamiliar with the urban setting and potentially unable to return home due to social stigma or family dependence on their success, they may become more vulnerable to accepting exploitative jobs. Victims may also be recruited from extremely poor urban households, where from a young age, girls must contribute to family income. Women may be convinced by brokers to work in the entertainment sector with promises of being a well-paid waitress, a cook or a dancer/singer when in actual fact they will be sexually exploited.

[17] Biswas Nepal *et al* (unpublished). Ignored and Denied: Study Report on Labour Relation and Access to Justice Among Entertainment & Hospitality Workers in Kathmandu Valley.
[18] Baumann, G. and Dharel, M. (2014). *Modern Slavery in Nepal: Understanding the problem and existing responses.* Walk Free Foundation and AATWIN. Available from: https://cdn.walkfreefoundation.org/content/uploads/2017/05/14093936/Modern-Slavery-in-Nepal-Understanding-the-problem-and-existing-responses.pdf
[19] Swatantrata Abhiyan (2017). Dancing under the neon lights: The Study of Resilience among Entertainment Sector Women and Girls Workers.

The same applies to sexual exploitation overseas, where they may be lured by the prospect of foreign employment only to be subject to commercial sexual exploitation on arrival in their destination country. Victims may also be recruited through their peers although it is not clear whether that peer would receive anything in exchange for them joining the sector or whether they are sharing the high-paid opportunities out of good-intention, blurring the line between exploiter and facilitator.

Finally, victims might be convinced or pressured into sexual exploitation over a process of normalisation and familiarisation. It was widely reported that sexual exploitation often occurs after a period of forced or exploitative labour (discussed further in *Exploitative Labour*), where victims might enter into the entertainment sector as waitresses, cooks, etc. but coerced by the unsafe working environment (psychologically and sexually) and high levels of sexual and physical harassment (directly or indirectly) into forms of sexual exploitation by employers and owners over time.

What happens next? Turnover in the entertainment sector is high, with women remaining in the sector for only a short period of time, moving between establishments to ensure clients are met with 'fresh faces', or women being forced to leave the sector due to age (women tend to become undesirable to clients at 30-32 years). While some women may become brokers, transfer to other non-age dependent jobs within the sector or go for foreign employment, the sheer number of employees in the industry implies that there must be other pathways. It is not clear what life after working in the entertainment sector entails, particularly as social stigma might affect future opportunities and the possibility to return home.

The entertainment sector is renowned for poor and unsafe working conditions, low wages and a lack of regulation. In a 2016 survey conducted by the National Human Rights Commission, 49% of respondents reported sexual abuse, 43% reported late pay and nearly half reported feeling insecure in the workplace. Indirect force might occur when income is insufficient to cover basic daily needs, to pay back loans taken out with brokers or to meet unattainable tip targets imposed by employers. Victims may feel like they have no other choice but to comply and tolerate paid sexual exploitation to pay back employers. This is also displacing sexual exploitation outside of the entertainment establishment and into homes or hotels and outside of working hours, making sexual exploitation more hidden and women even more vulnerable. This also allows for owners and employers to ignore or distance themselves from the sexual exploitation, so they do not have to take responsibility or action for the mistreatment and exploitation of employees.

When victims are trafficked, coercion and control methods that apply to human trafficking apply. Victims lured into the entertainment sector – unless they are in a form of debt bondage – are technically free to leave as they wish. However, in practice victims may feel unable to leave the sector out of fear of unemployment, recognition that they won't be as highly-paid or stigma – especially when convinced by employers or brokers that this is the case.

Adaptive strategies: There are reports that following increased interventions from NGOs and authorities, women are becoming less visible in entertainment establishments. Instead, men and boys are taking jobs as waiters but acting as the first point of contact, passing on the client to women and girls at the client's request.

They could face repercussions (even for threatening to leave) that discourage or intimidate them to remain. This includes unfair salary deductions, collusion amongst owners to prevent them from securing another job in the industry and exposure by owners of their occupation causing reputational damage. In cases of sexual exploitation overseas compared to in the entertainment sector in Nepal, victims are more susceptible to coercion and control and are unable to leave their place of work. Generally, women work in the entertainment sector for a long time (5-10 years) and are tolerant of the conditions, or women leave after a short-period of time due to unacceptable working conditions or if they use the entertainment sector as some form of transit before moving on to other employment.

This ability to come and go, and the more transitory or temporary nature of the entertainment sector has made it a hub for external trafficking – dubbed a 'training ground' to prepare women for movement to the Middle East and other countries[20] – which has influenced patterns of foreign employment and sex trafficking. Increasingly, women are entering the sector on a temporary basis, looking to earn money while they wait in Kathmandu for foreign employment migration/trafficking. As previously described, women who are being exploited are more vulnerable to onward trafficking into another or more extreme form of modern slavery.

[20] Terre Des Hommes (2010). Trafficking from Nepal to destinations outside of South Asia on the rise.

High-risk groups and vulnerabilities

As with vulnerability to human trafficking, it should not be assumed that a single factor can explain vulnerability to commercial sexual exploitation. Once again, consideration of real or perceived agency in the context of undesirable circumstances is important. In many cases, the factors of vulnerability that apply to trafficking also apply in the case of commercial sexual exploitation and trafficking for commercial sexual exploitation. However, some additional factors or different dynamics have been highlighted.

Vulnerable LGBTQI+ communities: Few respondents raised the vulnerabilities of the LGBTQI+ community in Nepal, but it should be assumed that this already hidden community are at high risk. Of those that did, descriptions of exploitation pertained more to explicit sex slavery and ownership, with victims being sold from owner to owner, including to circuses, for forced prostitution or in the entertainment sector.

Lack of quality education[21] and occupational skills as a factor of vulnerability applies in a similar way to human trafficking, but when discussing the entertainment sector in Nepal, should be highlighted again. Entering the commercial sex industry requires little to no qualifications, making it highly accessible. Lack of alternative or similarly paid job opportunities could potentially make women with little or no education more tolerant of exploitative conditions, making them highly vulnerable to commercial sexual exploitation. This should be differentiated from the increasing trend of educated women joining the industry, due to unemployment following studies or to supplement their financial income while the continue their studies. In either case, consent, awareness and vulnerability should be assessed.

As with human trafficking, gender-based discrimination and violence and traditional norms concerning the role of women play an amplifying role. Perpetrators and clients are overwhelmingly men, while victims are overwhelmingly women. However, the vulnerability of young boys is being increasingly recognised. Conflation of the entertainment sector and sex trafficking with sex work means that due to social stigma the victim may become more vulnerable when they can't return home, can't reveal their true identity or can't access support. Particularly when discussing children and agency or consent, attention should be paid to age hierarchies and adult-child power dynamics as a factor of vulnerability, augmented when age intersects with gender.

Highway restaurants and bars: As road infrastructure improves and more people travel between towns and larger cities, entertainment establishments are being erected along larger roads and highways to cater for a new client base that includes drivers, conductors and passengers. Children may come to work from nearby towns to work in the kitchen or as waiters or are trafficked from far away and must reside in the establishments. All are vulnerable to sexual exploitation but particularly the latter. With better road access into larger cities such as Kathmandu, children are also more vulnerable to onward trafficking.

Actors and facilitators

Brokers, including victims looking to replace themselves, operate in a similar way to that discussed for human trafficking, luring victims by promising high-paid employment or in the specific case of the entertainment sector, the opportunity to be a performance artist – with dancing and singing being a highly-sought after profession in Nepal.

As described in regard to human trafficking, brokers can also be victims or ex-victims. Employers are more likely to act as exploiters and facilitators of exploitation rather than brokers. While not all employers directly coerce their workers into commercial sexual exploitation, employers seem to lack a sense of responsibility in protecting their employees and often create an environment that subjects women to a higher risk of commercial sexual exploitation either inside the entertainment establishment or outside it. Some employers might even consider themselves to be helping victims, by lifting them out of poverty.

With the entertainment sector, the client base is largely local people. Disaggregating clients further by profile or profession, there are strong correlations with the nature of the local economy. For example, in tourism hotspots, establishments will be most frequented by both local people and foreign tourists. Clients are likely to understand that commercial sexual exploitation is illegal and wrong, particularly when children are involved. However, they are less likely to have a sense of responsibility for their actions as they're not concerned that employers are employing minors or allowing this kind of activity to take place.

[21] It should be noted that enrolment rates have improved, but attendance is poor and dropout rates remain unsatisfactorily high.

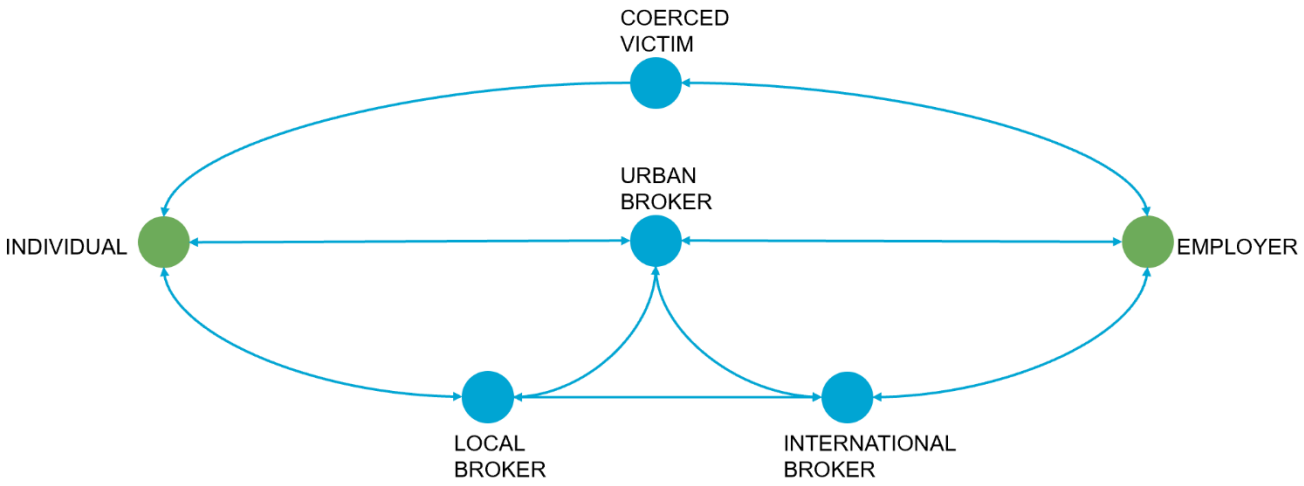

Figure 3: The potential actors involved in the network or chain of commercial sexual exploitation in Nepal. Actors in green are all considered 'middle-men' or 'brokers'. Compared to the trafficking chain, families and relatives are less likely (although not completely unlikely) to act intentionally.

BONDED LABOUR

Traditional bonded slavery systems were only abolished recently, making people more familiar with the concept of slavery. But there have been evolutions into new or adapted forms of bonded exploitative labour.

Patterns and forms

Nepal has long been affected by bonded labour, with the traditional Kamaiya, Haliya and Haruwa-Charuwa bonded labour systems in place for generations. Families would be caught in lifelong or serial indebtedness to landlords, paying off this debt predominantly through agricultural but also domestic bonded labour. While landlords and owners would pay little to no wages in return for agricultural or domestic labour, they would often provide food, accommodation and clothing. This would leave families in traditional bonded labour not just indebted, but entirely dependent on their landlords and owners to survive.

Despite putting in place formal laws and structures to outlaw traditional bonded labour, agricultural bonded labour still exists in altered forms. Individuals and/or families may take high interest cash loans, often coming to some form of land tenancy or crop sharing agreement with landlords or brokers that would help them to pay back the loan. Their returns from agricultural work, or their ability to pay back the high interest cash loans is often insufficient. This may push members of the family to migrate for seasonal agricultural work, for example to India, while the remaining family (often women and girls) remain on the land to continue working. This can also create links with bonded labour in other sectors, foreign employment and human trafficking. For example, high interest cash loans might push a male family member to migrate for foreign employment to increase the family income to pay back the cash loan, leaving behind family members to continue working. Bonded labour in foreign employment is also highly prevalent, with passport confiscation, withholding wages or debt bondage being used to control workers.

The brick making industry is another highly prevalent form of forced labour in Nepal and is often seasonal. World Education International reports that there are an estimated 750 kilns in Nepal with 181,524 laborers, of whom 15.6% are children.[22] Brick kiln workers take high interest cash loans or pre-payment for their labour, which they attempt to work off during the seven- or eight-month brickmaking season.[23] Low wages and costs incurred during the season often result in further loans being taken. Many workers return home with little or no pay, vulnerable to recruitment during subsequent seasons leading to perpetuating cycles of debt. The work in brick kilns is usually based on a piece rate payment so often the whole family, including children, are enlisted.[24] The GoN has

[22] World Education (2013). *Naya Bato Naya Paila Report: Combating Exploitative Child Labor Through Education in Nepal*. Available from: http://www.worlded.org/WEIInternet/inc/common/_download_pub.cfm?id=13981&lid=3.
[23] Kara, S (2012). *Bonded Labor: Tackling the System of Slavery in South Asia*, Columbia University Press.
[24] Lamar, S., O'Leary, P., Chui, C., Benfer, K., Zug, S., and Jordan, L. (2017). Hazardous child labor in Nepal: The case of brick kilns. *Child Abuse and Neglect*, 72: 312-325. Available from: https://www.sciencedirect.com/science/article/pii/S0145213417302892

identified more than 25,000 bonded child laborers working in brick kilns and construction sites.[25] There have also been reports of increasing use of bonded labour in the construction and transportation sectors, as well as the embroidery sector although the latter disproportionally affects children.

High-risk groups and vulnerabilities

While many of the factors of vulnerability that apply to human trafficking are also relevant here, real or perceived agency seems to play a lesser role. While brokers and landowners may not exert explicit control and coercion, they readily take advantage of individual and community level vulnerabilities to manipulate, deceive or compel individuals and families into bonded labour. As with human trafficking, lack of education or importance given to education, lack of alternative livelihoods and limited access to opportunities no doubt create vulnerability to bonded labour. Children remain particularly vulnerable.

In the case of ex-bonded labourers, caste dynamics and caste-based discrimination strongly intersect with factors of vulnerability, often amplifying them. In terms of education, there is a large attendance and attainment gap between Dalit and lower-caste communities and the general population. Poverty also affects them more severely – according to the World Bank, 49.2% live below the poverty line compared with a national average of 31%.[26] Landlessness and lack of documents such as identification, birth registration or land registration has also made ex-bonded labourers particularly vulnerable.

Trust can increase vulnerability of these communities, who are often uneducated or unaware of their rights and must rely on the advice of others in the community. Being historically disenfranchised and politically unrepresented communities, it is difficult to negate generations of trust within those communities. This acts as a strong factor of vulnerability in regard to lack of awareness, particularly when local brokers are often also trusted members of the community.

Caste-based discrimination: Lack of alternative livelihoods applies more strongly to ex-bonded labourers, due to unfair or discriminatory recruitment processes, poor economic mobility and lack of networks to facilitate access to employment, due to economic and social confinement they faced whilst in traditional bonded labour. The industrialisation of markets and lack of ability to transfer valuable skills to match the demands of the market also play a role. Alternatively, new markets in which little training has been available can also act as a factor of vulnerability. A local NGO provided training to Dalit ex-bonded labourers to make *dalmoth*, a traditional snack of Nepal. They were successfully trained, but on taking their product to the market it was found that nobody would purchase *dalmoth* made by them, due to perceptions of Dalit communities and untouchability.

Actors and facilitators

Brokers are playing an increasingly significant role in bonded labour patterns across Nepal. Brokers tend to operate and be from local communities and might be ex-bonded labourers themselves, working as petty contractors for employers. These brokers take advantage of community familiarity and trust, as well as lack of awareness and alternative opportunities, to manipulate and recruit individuals for bonded labour. They act as links between employers and those looking to work, often positioning themselves as protectors or guardians of vulnerable communities who can negotiate for relatively powerless workers.

They do negotiate directly with the employer on behalf of workers, but in many cases secure conditions that provide them, rather than the workers, with maximum gain. Brokers restrict workers' access to employers and force the workers to be dependent on the broker, significantly reducing their bargaining power. In the case of bonded labour in foreign employment, local brokers will employ similarly wide-reaching networks with international brokers.

Employers are typically land or business owners and may directly employ workers, especially when there has been a legacy of traditional bonded labour. However, increasingly employers are engaging with brokers, out of convenience and to tactically navigate around increasingly demanding employment laws that protect the health and safety of workers and protect their employment rights. This is encouraging brokers and contractors to become more organised, bringing and managing groups of workers on behalf of employers allowing the employer to liaise with, manage and pay one individual, rather than scores of workers. This is transferring debt bondage from owners and employers, to brokers and contractors.

[25] Slavery in Nepal (2018). *Child labour in brick kilns*. Available from: https://sites.google.com/a/mtholyoke.edu/slaveryinnepal/child-labor-in-brick-kilns

[26] IRIN News. (2010). 'Nepal Discrimination continues against Dalits.' Available from: http://www.irinnews.org/report/91437/nepal-discrimination-continues-against-dalits

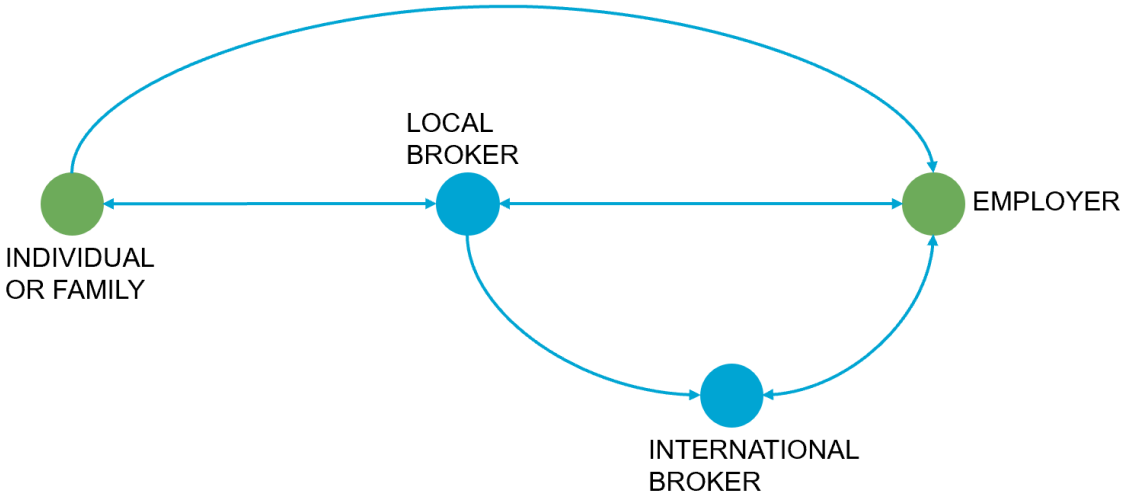

Figure 4: The potential actors involved in the network or chain of bonded labour in Nepal. Actors in green are all considered 'middle-men' or 'brokers'. Compared to trafficking and commercial sexual exploitation the number of types of actors have reduced.

EXPLOITATIVE LABOUR[27]

In some cases, victims are caught in a space between exploitative labour and bonded labour. Where they sit within this space is defined by the labour relations and working conditions, their awareness and vulnerabilities. Trafficking can intersect at all points and often multiplies vulnerability.

Entertainment sector

Commercial sexual exploitation in the entertainment sector has already been explored. However, forced and exploitative labour in the entertainment sector is rife and as previously discussed, can be a precursor for commercial sexual exploitation. The entertainment sector is a strong contributor to the economy and there are a number of different types of jobs available that could provide decent and safe employment. But many are likely to be caught in some form of exploitative labour which can extend all the way to bonded labour.

The entertainment sector is traditionally seen as a women-dominated workplace given that strong links with commercial sexual exploitation, however exploitative labour affects both men and women. Men tend to take roles such as chefs, waiters, security guards or street-based promoters bringing in clients. Women and adolescent girls are likely to take roles such as waitresses, dancers and singers. Children are particularly vulnerable and young boys and girls are more likely to work in the kitchen. Employees will be subject to very low wages, late payment, no paid leave, undefined working hours and poor occupational safety. Low wages also make the smallest increase in wages more attractive, making employees more vulnerable to falling into commercial sexual exploitation. For women and adolescent girls working as waiters, dancers and singers, these roles more likely act as a pathway into commercial sexual exploitation given their direct interaction with clients.

Agriculture and ex-bonded labourers

While traditional bonded labour entailed lifelong and inter-generational bondage, owners did have some responsibility to support bonded families by providing accommodation and food. With the abolition of traditional bonded labour families suddenly found themselves landless and responsible for basic subsistence, making them significantly more insecure. Generations of deep-rooted caste-based discrimination that confined traditional bonded labourers to lifetimes of agricultural labour or domestic servitude has resulted in a large educational gap and lack of skills to access alternative markets. Industrialisation of markets that ex-bonded labourers would be more able to access, lack of education or vocational skills and failure to assist ex-bonded labourers to convert their traditional skills and knowledge has severely restricted their ability to access competitive markets.

Cultural notions of untouchability and discriminatory recruitment processes only amplify this. In many cases this legacy of traditional bonded labour and caste-based discrimination has pushed ex-bonded labourers to accept or

[27] Exploitative labour was not originally included as a focal form to be explored. However, during field research it was clear that this was a necessary addition. Domestic work, which was a focal form has now been included under this larger category.

tolerate unfair working conditions that subject them to some form of exploitative labour extending all the way to new forms of bonded labour. It would not be unusual to find an ex-bonded labourer still working the same land or for the same owner that they were once bonded to, but now bonded through new forms of land tenancy, share-cropping or cash loans. A new space has emerged for exploitative brokers to operate and increasingly ex-bonded labourers are being trafficked or compelled to migrate internally or externally, particularly to participate in seasonal work to make ends meet. In some cases, this transfers bondage from landowners to brokers.

Beyond victimhood: When exploring why people are vulnerable to forms of exploitation, complex themes beyond victimhood emerged:

- Tolerance: people are tolerant of unacceptable conditions, believing the payoff will be greater than the risks/costs;
- Aspiration: more than just basic subsistence and survival, people are aspiring to higher economic status and better quality of life, influenced by modernisation and consumerism;
- Agency: people internalise their experiences with real or perceived agency, strongly tied to aspiration.

To fully understand why individuals end up in forms of exploitation alongside victimhood these different themes, or ways of framing, should be recognised independently and simultaneously.

Domestic work

Nepal has an estimated 162,000 individuals in domestic work or servitude,[28] and employing live-in domestic work is both a socially accepted tradition and a symbol of status amongst the growing middle and upper classes in urban areas. While domestic work can be a respectable and adequately paid profession in Nepal, poor regulation, inadequate monetary compensation and poor working conditions closely link the realities of domestic work to many of the defining attributes of bonded labour. Domestic labour is also often carried out by children, with many turning a blind eye to any exploitative or servitude-like practices due to economic and social reasons.[29]

Entry into domestic work is often unplanned and not organised and workers often accept a job in domestic work due to lack of alternatives and low barriers of access. Informality and isolation makes it even easier for domestic workers to be subject to exploitative conditions. Exploitative domestic work can be defined by low wages and no stated minimum wage, no unpaid leave, verbal and physical abuse and undefined working hours. Domestic work can tend towards servitude when workers are subject to physical confinement or wages are withheld including to prevent a worker from leaving. Children are more likely to be subjected to such conditions.

Social attitudes towards domestic work are poor, and many fail to consider it as decent or respectable work. It is noted that a workers' vulnerability to domestic servitude is heightened or reduced depending on the employer's attitudes towards domestic work. If the employer sees themselves as providing an opportunity to the employee by lifting them out of poverty they are more likely to be controlling and violent or abusive. Whereas if both the employer and employee can recognise domestic work as a valuable and sought-after service, the relationship can dramatically improve. Domestic workers are also less likely to be exploited if they are connected to some form of alliance or forum that advocates for workers' rights.

The likelihood of domestic servitude significantly increases when it intersects with human trafficking and foreign employment, particularly in the case of children. In these scenarios, patterns described earlier apply and it is highly likely that brokers are involved. With domestic work in foreign countries, by law there is a zero-cost policy for those individuals looking to migrate. The overseas employer is to pay for all migration-related expenses including travel, visa and the cost of using foreign employment bureaus. Despite this being a migrant's right and dictated by law, this creates opportunities for the employer to exert control over the employee. Foreign employment bureaus are also prohibited from charging migrants but in reality take commission from those travelling for work before they migrate. When they are unable to pay this commission through existing financial capacity or by selling off assets and belongings, the broker may offer a high-interest loan. Domestic workers may then be bonded to a broker, an employer or both.

As well as being associated with child labour and bonded labour, domestic servitude is strongly linked to sexual exploitation and it is widely acknowledged that women and girls involved in domestic servitude are at particular risk to sexual violence and exploitation.[30] A CWISH study of 2005 identified that 56% of child domestic workers

[28] Gautam, R. and Prasan, J. (2011) *Isolated with the walls*. Kathmandu: General Federation of Trade Unions.
[29] Dharel, M. (2009). *The Invisible Workers*. Kathmandu: CWISH. Available at: http://www.cwish.org.np/uploads/files/Invisible%20workers%20report%20min%202017-08-13%2020-28-48.pdf
[30] Baumann, G. and Dharel, M. (2014). *Modern Slavery in Nepal: Understanding the problem and existing responses.* Walk Free Foundation and AATWIN. Available from: https://cdn.walkfreefoundation.org/content/uploads/2017/05/14093936/Modern-Slavery-in-Nepal-Understanding-the-problem-and-existing-responses.pdf

have suffered sexual abuse with 28% experiencing sexual assault.[31] Despite this, patterns for domestic work are witnessing change in response to women accessing the market to improve their or their families living standards and financial status. For example, women may work part-time for multiple houses in a single neighbourhood to increase financial gain. Young women are reportedly engaging in domestic work to boost their income while they complete school or higher education. As with the entertainment sector, domestic work is a sector that could provide opportunities for decent work and significantly contribute to the local economy if existing laws and policies are extended to domestic workers and regulation and monitoring are implemented.

FORCED MARRIAGE[32]

Nepal has the third highest rate of child marriage in Asia – 37% of girls are married before 18, and 10% by 15.[33] Forced marriage is mostly concentrated in rural areas of Nepal. This includes eastern and central Terai (provinces 5 and 2) as well as certain districts of mid-western Terai and some hilly and mountainous districts of Karnali and Sudurpashchim.

Key drivers of forced marriage, particularly child marriage, include poverty and deprivation, lack of access to education, child labour, lack of access to family planning information, harmful social pressures and cultural practices around dowry, menstruation and virginity. Dowry is prevalent amongst lower-caste groups but is also commonly practiced amongst other groups. Discriminatory gendered roles and social pressures mean that forced marriage disproportionally affects women and girls. A further related issue reported by NGOs in Nepal is the widespread pressure on women – sometimes with high levels of coercion – to continue giving birth until they produce a son. In some cases, this amounts to forced reproduction.[34] Marital rape can also occur, transforming marriages into informal institutions of slavery. However, boys as young as seven have also been reportedly subject to forced marriage and the marriage of boys and young men is particularly prevalent in farming villages of western Nepal. It is estimated that 34% of boys are married before the age of 19.[35]

While forced marriage was not a focal form of modern slavery explored through primary research, an interesting finding identified in periphery conversations was the conflation or confusion of forced marriage with child marriage in the context of 'love marriages'. Love marriages are seen as distinct in that the two people getting married chose their respective spouse with or without permission and approval from their parents and family, rather than the more traditional culture of arranged marriage. Concern arises when couples below the legal age for marriage elope, with many citing the influence of modern polygamous relationships, social media and exposure to pornography as drivers – however this would need to be explored further. Asides from the negative implications on reproductive health and psychological wellbeing, voluntary early marriage can also create space for child labour. Marriage is also considered to be the safest and most socially acceptable means for young girls who lack opportunities and other life choices to have a comfortable life. Some explicit cases of forced child marriage were discussed, but it was often difficult to discern when respondents were discussing child love marriages rather than forced marriages and to what degree concern was related to traditional views about marriage, relationships and sexual relationships.

LINKAGES BETWEEN FORMS OF EXPLOITATION

There are various linkages between the different forms of modern slavery and exploitation, and one form of exploitation can often create space for further and potentially more severe exploitation. It should be recognised that modern slavery in Nepal is increasingly interlinked and layered.

[31] Gautam, B. and Dharel, M. (2005). *Closed Door Suffering*. Kathmandu: CWISH. Available at: https://issuu.com/cwish/docs/closdeddoor_suffering
[32] Forced marriage was not a selected focal form, however it was frequently cited during field research and brought up interesting enough findings to include in this report.
[33] Human Rights Watch (2018). Country Profile: Nepal. Available from: https://www.hrw.org/world-report/2018/country-chapters/nepal
[34] Walk Free Foundation (2014). Modern Slavery in Nepal: Understanding the problem and existing responses. Available from: https://cdn.walkfreefoundation.org/content/uploads/2017/05/14093936/Modern-Slavery-in-Nepal-Understanding-the-problem-and-existing-responses.pdf
[35] CARE. (2015). Child Grooms of Nepal Forced to be Dads Too Soon, CARE Finds in Father's Day Report. Available from: http://www.care.org/newsroom/press/press-releases/child-grooms-nepal-forced-be-dads-too-soon-care-finds-fathers-day

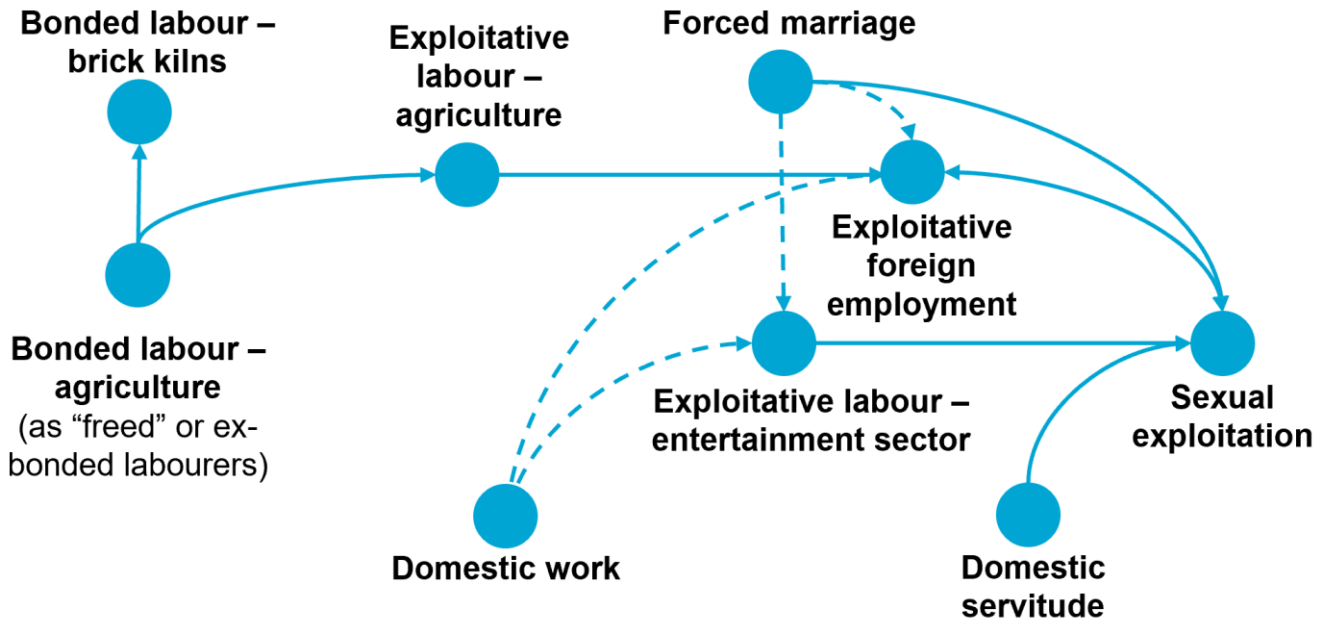

Figure 3: Common linkages between the different forms of exploitation and modern slavery, which can be complex and multi-dimensional. Almost all forms can intersect with human trafficking. Dotted arrows signify where real or perceived agency may be exercised

RECOMMENDATIONS

Cross-cutting

- Use the process of federalisation as an opportunity to revive, strengthen or introduce the necessary structures to address the different forms of modern slavery.
- Develop diverse and attractive rural and urban economies and employment opportunities to minimise distress migration and reduce vulnerability to trafficking. Create enabling environments for ethical business practices.
- Promote better working conditions and reduce opportunities for exploitative labour in otherwise decent sectors of work, in particular sectors that would traditionally fall into the informal sector. Address the growing role of brokers in creating the supply and demand for exploitative labour.
- Enable better access to opportunities for marginalised groups including women, girls and *Dalit* communities.
- Strengthen referral mechanisms and resources for victim support, including supporting inter-state cooperation and identifying effective CSO-government partnerships.
- Encourage implementers and practitioners to actively contribute to the evidence base through research and monitoring and evaluation.
- Build modern slavery-related indicators into broader social development programmes that also target relevant vulnerable groups. This includes programmes on social security, education, employment and livelihoods, etc.

Human trafficking

- Support efforts by state and non-state actors to improve access to justice including rescue, prosecution and rehabilitation. Provide capacity building on how to work with potential victims and safeguarding.
- Build awareness at the individual, family and community level on identifying human trafficking and how to report it/seek help. ness raising should expand to address social norms and stigma, particularly taking into account gendered differences.
- More generally, build understanding of human trafficking beyond just sex trafficking, including the trafficking of male victims.

Child trafficking and exploitation

- Focus on the extraction of children from child labour whilst considering social and financial consequences, aftercare and rehabilitation.

- Build awareness with children, peers, teachers and parents to identify exploitation and reporting through appropriate channels.
- Encourage birth registration and provision of identification documents to minimise ability by employers and brokers to exploit.
- Address child labour in contexts such as lack of access to education and families with non-earning family members (e.g. persons of non-working age, persons with disabilities) to achieve direct and indirect impact on reducing child labour.
- Develop and undertake follow-up mechanisms for child labour-free campaigns and initiatives. Encourage ethical and better business practices.

Commercial sexual exploitation

- Facilitate victims of commercial sexual exploitation to exit the entertainment sector, taking into consideration potential repercussions by employers, stigma and alternative livelihoods.
- Support low-skilled women to find alternative employment should they be interested. For example, Employment Service Centres could be equipped to identify and support at-risk women.
- Awareness raising with women about the different jobs available in the entertainment sector and the realities of undertaking those jobs, but also with employers and clients.
- Develop monitoring systems and better regulate the sector to punish instances of commercial sexual exploitation and promote otherwise decent work in the entertainment sector.

Bonded labour

- Provide sufficient documentation and identification to bonded labourers and freed bonded labourers.
- Impose harsher regulation of sectors where bonded labour might be employed to reduce opportunities for exploitation.
- There may also be scope for savings groups, where collectives contribute small amounts while they work which can they be accessed by the rest of the collection as loans.
- Support freed bonded labourers and those vulnerable to bonded labour to access alternative livelihood opportunities and to better deal with financial shocks given the existing provision of social security.
- Address the specific vulnerabilities of Dalit and low-caste communities. Raise awareness with the general population of the realities and harms of bonded labour.
- Improve knowledge of labour rights and decent working conditions to prevent exploitative and bonded labour.
- Improve mechanisms to report poor working conditions, develop initiatives to build awareness and demand for those mechanisms.
- Improve business and social attitudes to what is traditionally known as work in the informal sector to promote them as places of decent work.

ANNEX A: INTERVIEW RESPONDENTS LIST

Respondent	Focal form
International Labour Organization Nepal	Bonded labour; exploitative labour
Winrock International	Human trafficking
World Education	Child labour; child trafficking
Freedom Fund	Bonded labour; exploitative labour; child labour; commercial sexual exploitation
USAID Nepal	Human trafficking
Child Workers in Nepal (CWIN)	Child labour; child trafficking
Children, Women in Social Services and Human Rights (CWISH)	Child labour; child trafficking
Swatantrata Abhiyan Nepal	Human trafficking; exploitative labour, Forced Labour
Biswas Nepal	Commercial sexual exploitation; exploitative labour
Nepal Police – Anti-Trafficking Bureau	Human trafficking
National Human Rights Commission – Office of Special Rapporteur	Human trafficking; child trafficking
Chhori	Commercial sexual exploitation
Change Nepal	Human trafficking; child trafficking; commercial sexual exploitation
Samrakshyak Samuha Nepal	Human trafficking; child trafficking; commercial sexual exploitation
Maiti Nepal	Human trafficking; child trafficking; commercial sexual exploitation
Pourakhi	Human trafficking; exploitative labour
Nepal Goodweave Foundation	Bonded labour; exploitative labour; child labour; child trafficking
Alliance Against Trafficking in Women and Children in Nepal (AATWIN)	Human trafficking; child trafficking
Rastriya Dalit Network (RDN)	Bonded labour; exploitative labour
Gramin Mahila Srijansheel Parivar – GMSP	Human trafficking; commercial sexual exploitation
Melamchi Municipality Representative	Human trafficking; child trafficking
Aawaj Abhiyan Nepal	Child trafficking; child labour
KCDC Nepal	Human trafficking; child trafficking
Shakti Samuha	Human trafficking; child trafficking; commercial sexual exploitation
Women Forum for Women in Nepal	Human trafficking; child trafficking
Children Nepal	Child trafficking; child labour
Pokhara Chamber of Commerce and Industries	Bonded labour; exploitative labour; child labour
Freedom Fund – South East Terai	Bonded labour
Bhawani Integrated Development Centre	Bonded labour
AASMAN Nepal	Bonded labour; exploitative labour; child labour
Dalit Samrakshyan Aviyan Manch Nepal	Bonded labour
Jana Chetana Dalit Sangam	Bonded labour
Terre Des Homme Nepal	Child trafficking; child labour
ABC Nepal	Human trafficking; child trafficking

ANNEX B: OVERVIEW OF CURRENT RESPONSES

Type of intervention	To address…	Target group	Delivered by	Successes	Challenges
Prevention Targeted Awareness Raising	Human Trafficking, Unsafe Migration and Foreign Employment, Commercial Sexual Exploitation, Child Marriage	Rural population, School Children, Potential migrants, Parents and Wider Communities	Local Social Worker, Community Radio, television, Local Newspapers, Teachers (With support of Government and Non Government Organisations)	Information delivered to large population, Migrant workers started to leave copy of documentation, access to service providers, local population are informed about risk	Language Barriers, Protectionist approach of communication, Less Community led information program, Mismatching of information, Information flood to target communities
Self Protection Targeted Awareness-raising	Monitoring and reporting of trafficking, forced and exploitative practices, Increase access to service provider,	Workers at workplace, Trade Union Members, Employers/Managers, and Family members	Local Social Workers, Trade Union Leaders, Online Media (With support from International and local NGOs; CSOs;)	Improved negotiation with employers, established formal and legal documentation, Improved Salaries and Benefits, Increased reporting and tracing of incidences	Less number of actions, less resource to reach abroad, limited engagement with employers and trade unions
Prevention – Alternative Income Opportunities	Reducing financial vulnerability, increase school opportunities, strengthen positive financial practices	Women, Dalit and Janajati Community, Family below the poverty line	NGOs, Local Cooperatives, Government	Provided some alternative employment, positively change financial management	Is not able to reduce attraction towards foreign employment, migration, the misleading conceptualisation cost benefit of risky employment
Boarder Interception and Mobility	Reduce risky mobility, prevent and intercept	Women, Girls and Children	NGOs and Boarder Security, Immigration	Intercepted mobility of identified people on the move with risk	Violated right to mobility and criticised, Deepen and hidden

Monitor	high risk mobility				alternative routes of risky mobility
Rescue, Repatriation, Reintegration and Rehabilitation	Safe and voluntary return and sustaining reintegration in society	Identified or reported victim of forced labour, exploitative labour and human trafficking including child labour	Police, NGOs and Women and Children Ministry	Freed and Brought back almost 1000 victims in origin place	Voluntary and informed repatriation, sustaining reintegration and rehabilitation lacking, Inter-governmental and inter-agencies coordination missing
Access to Legal Justice	Punishment to the criminals, justice for the victim/survivor, Compensation for the victim	Victim and Survivor of Slavery – Mainly Human Trafficking, Child Labour, Women and Girls, Migrant Workers	NGOs, Police, Nepal Bar Association	Dispute handled by DoFE, Compensation delivered to more than 1000 victims each year, few hundred allegations are made	Inability to trap organised chain, only frontline agents are prosecuted, labour trafficking is largely mediated, compensation and victims protection are not enforced well
Mental and Physical Health Services	Ensure health is accessible, enhance resiliency of victims and victims family	Victim and Survivor of Slavery – Mainly Human Trafficking, Child Labour, Women and Girls, Migrant Workers	NGOs and Local Health Facilities	Free psychosocial care is provided to returnees and rescued victims	Health Education, Occupational safety and health, psychosocial care as building resilience have not been used and even not all health services at local level recognises this, health sector responsibility on combating slavery is not promoted
Skill Training and Education	Reduce vulnerability of forced labour, trafficking and slavery	Vulnerable population- Women and Girls, Returnee Migrants	NGOs, Government	Delivered skill training for potential migrant workers	Not able to provide locally employable skills, uses of learnt skill and promote local entrepreneurship.
Capacity Building of institutions and	Strengthen skills and ability of authorities to intervene, rescue	Labour Officials, Police, Public Prosecutors, NGOs-Social Workers	NGOs and Government	Trained labour offices, police personnel, NGOs workers	Unable to promote joint coordination, missing organised crime investigation and monitoring, not included

Authorities	and protect victims/vulnerable				in System.
Advocacy, System Building and Seeking Accountability	Improved legislations, policies and programs for victims and vulnerable	Law makers, politicians, media and state officials	NGOs and Trade Unions	Few policy changes happened	Changed political structures demands more engagement in systematic engagement, coordinated and collective advocacy of NGOs missing, coordination among NGOs and Trade Unions, Regional and Transnational Advocacy Missing

ANNEX C: MANDATES AND ROLES AT THE DIFFERENT LEVELS OF GOVERNMENTS TO COMBAT TRAFFICKING[36]

	Local Government	State Government	Federal Government
Prevention	• Awareness and social mobilisation • Reducing vulnerabilities • Social protection schemes • Poverty reduction programmes • Targeted programmes for women and children • Skill development, education and health	• Special campaign and programme • Targeted programmes of reducing vulnerabilities • Social protection schemes • Education curriculum and text books	• Social protection and social security schemes • Targeted programmes and national campaigns • Education curriculum and text books
Protection	• Local market monitoring • Mobility monitoring • Family and social reintegration and rehabilitation support • Operation of safe houses and transit facilities • Missing person alert	• Developing standards and rules on market and labour relations • Rules and standards on family affairs • Operation of transit houses and rehabilitation centres • Stated border interception • Mobility monitoring	• Overseas protection and legal representation services • Overseas rescue and return • Rehabilitation fund • Foreign employment rules and procedures • Labour relation rules and adjudication
Prosecution	• Developing and implementing referral system • Support and assistance to victims/ survivors	• Rules on criminal offences investigation procedures and guidelines • Training for police personnel • Strengthening coordination with public attorneys • Victim support	• Criminal code and rules • Interpol and transnational cooperation • Victim compensation and support • Interim compensation • Protection facilities

[36] Dharel, M (2019). CTIP in the Federal Structure – unpublished.

Partnership	• Reporting, local statistics and information management • Coordination and partnership with private sector and CSOs • Establishing dedicated funds • Formation of dedicated institutions – LCCHT, CR Committees, Sub-committees and working groups • Development of local policies and programmes • Inter-municipal coordination • Coordination with local police units	• Coordination with Federal Government • Partnership with civil society and private sector • Coordination with Supreme Court and Judicial Academy • Inter-state cooperation	• Trans-border cooperation • Partnership with private sector and civil society • Media guidelines and coordination • Inter-authority coordination

End of report